

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Hoover, Without a Political Past, With Palmer and McAdoo in Forefront of Discussion

WHETHER the League of Nations dominates the election as a campaign issue, the great problem facing the Democrats is to select a candidate for President. Mere favorite sons are eliminated at the outset. All secondary considerations, sometimes decisive in previous contests, are being pushed aside in the urgency of an extraordinary situation.

It may even come to pass that the standard-bearer of the Democratic Party will be a man who never voted the Democratic ticket and is so unsophisticated politically that in reaching a conclusion on a public question he is no more accustomed to ask himself how many votes will be affected thereby than is a great administrator in private life in coming to a conclusion on a business matter. This possibility, it is asserted, is the measure of a new realism that, evoked by the critical days ahead, seems threatening to enter politics, demanding that a proposition be considered searchingly on its merits.

Is it sound? Is it constructive? Is it a mere theory? Will it work? These are the questions, instead of the old questions: Will this catch the Irish vote, or the farmers' vote, or the labor vote?

That any one who not only has no "clean party record," but who in fact has no party record, should by influential leaders in the close councils of the party be considered for the Democratic nomination is surely a significant sign of the times.

Republican leaders, complacent over the results in the last two elections, look on and smile at the very idea of so revolutionary a political procedure. They think smugly of their abundant supply of notable favorite sons, the largest in many years. But that very complacency, it is asserted, may prove their undoing, as it may develop later that they were blind to the coming of a new period in politics when small organized groups with special ends were to be subjected to test as to whether their proposal was good for the country as a whole.

Be this as it may, there is no doubt of the pressure that is upon the Democratic Party, pushing it against the will of the old-style politicians, away from old order of thinking and acting. This situation existed before the Jackson Day dinner, but the dramatic developments of that evening accentuated it. William Jennings Bryan, taking an opposite position from the President on the ratification of the peace treaty, made it apparent that he was going into a pre-convention fight to regain the leadership of the party, and if possible dictate the policies of the party. No doubt, with his Government ownership program and other appeals, he will rally to himself considerable strength in his struggle with the President for the mastery, and this means a weakening of party solidarity! It means, it is held, the creation and rounding-up of an element that, defeated at the convention, may not follow the party to the polls, and thus may increase the difficulties of the Democrats and add to the necessity of finding a leader with a real appeal to a people aroused by the high cost of living, profiteering and continuation of war taxes. The appeal, it is asserted, must be to the liberal element of the country, for the Republicans are assured of the conservative element.

A Democratic politician said in Washington the other day:

"There cannot be two conservative parties in this country. The Democratic Party must keep on advanced liberal ground while steering clear of radicalism; otherwise it will ultimately be squeezed to death between the Republican Party and a new party."

Bryan's challenge to the President will no doubt arouse all Woodrow Wilson's fighting spirit, but his health and the obstacle of the third term, no matter how hot the contest may wax, are considered as standing against his becoming a candidate, though there is no doubt that the League issue, whether or not the treaty is ratified beforehand, will lead him to take a keenly active interest in the personality of the nominee. In the event that Wilson is out, who are the men who, on the basis of their performances, may be considered as making an appeal to the people of the whole country?

Three are mentioned: A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States; William G. McAdoo, ex-Secretary of the Treasury and former Director General of the Railroads; both brought up within the Democratic Party. The third man is Herbert Hoover, former Federal Food Administrator, who, the politicians reckon, has no political past. What are the basis of the claims made for these men by their immediate supporters?

A. Mitchell Palmer is now most in the limelight. At the outbreak of the war, his prospect for winning distinction during the war, as the average person would view it, seemed small indeed. He is a Quaker, and before war was declared, or seemed likely, had declined the post of Secretary of War in Wilson's Cabinet on

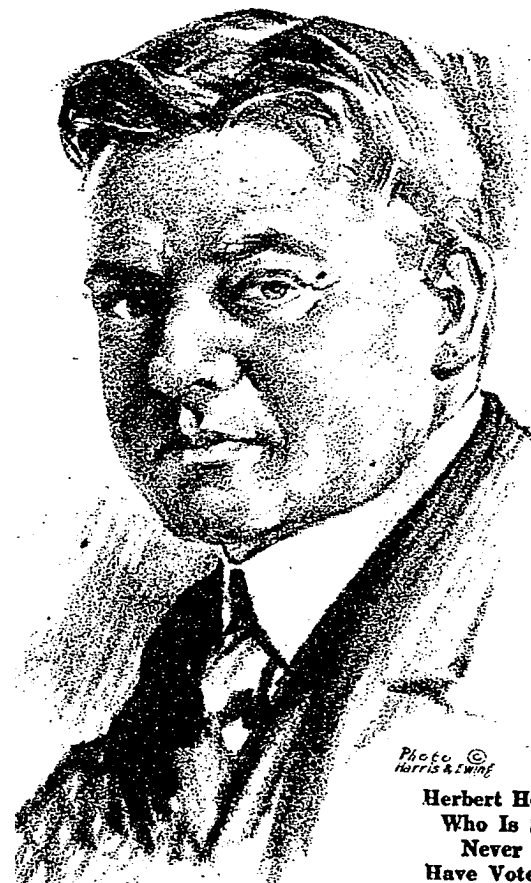


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**Herbert Hoover,
Who Is Said
Never to
Have Voted the
Democratic
Ticket.**



William G. McAdoo, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury.

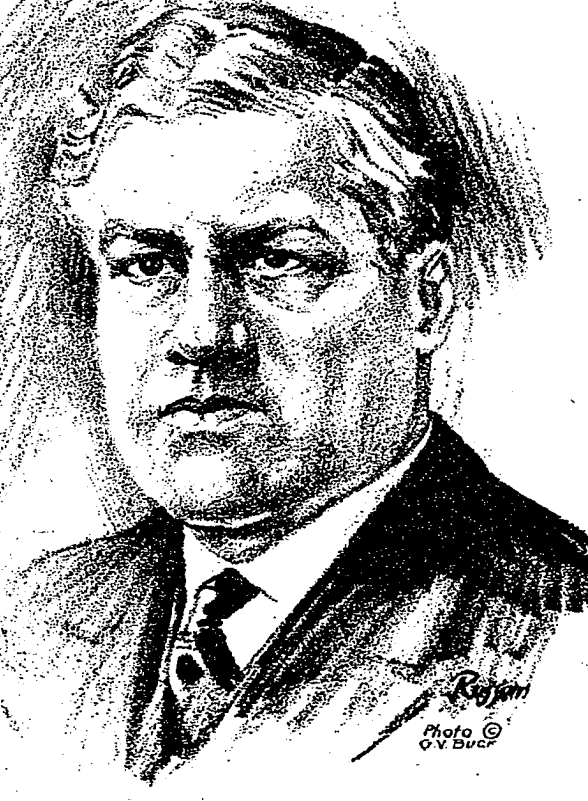


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A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General



W. Preston Mayfield.
James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio.

account of his religious views, but in the turn of events that followed our entrance into the conflict he, as Alien Property Custodian, stood out as one of the most aggressive officials at Washington against the Germans and as Attorney General is now the leading figure in the fight against the Reds. The menace he sees here he has expressed in these words:

"The 'Red' movement does not mean an attitude of protest against alleged defects in our present political and economic organization of society. It does not represent the radicalism of progress. It represents a specific doctrine, namely, the introduction of dictatorship the world over by force and violence. It is not a movement of liberty-loving persons, but a distinctly criminal and dishonest movement. Lenin himself made the statement at the Third Soviet Conference: 'Among 100 so-called Bolsheviks there are one Bolshevik, 39 criminals and 60 fools.' It advocates the destruction of all ownership in property, the destruction of all religion and belief in God. It is a movement organized against democracy and in favor of the power of the few built by force. Bolshevism, syndicalism, the Soviet Government, sabotage, &c., are only new names for old theories of violence and criminality."

Going back into Palmer's life he looms up as a fighter from the start. Quaker though he is. He was born at Moosehead, Pa., in 1872, and began practicing law at Stroudsburg in 1893. He came into prominence by smashing the old bipartisan machine in Pennsylvania. He was elected to Congress in 1909; he lined up with the progressive element and his ability soon won him a place there. At the Democratic National Convention in 1912 he was floor leader for Wilson and a factor of importance in winning for him the nomination.

Not until he became Alien Property Custodian and, in the carrying out of his duty, brought down on his head the bitter hatred of Germans and German sympathizers, did Mr. Palmer win wide attention. As Attorney General he is rising to be a real national figure, but much depends on what he yet accomplishes. Three things stand out especially in his career as Attorney General: The fight to reduce the high cost of living, the settlement of the coal strike and the nation-wide drive against the Reds.

Two of these undertakings are in mid-course, the fights against profiteering and revolutionary radicalism; if they are brought to a successful conclusion they will stamp the Attorney General in the minds of the people not only as a man of courage, but as one who trans-fuses that courage into the rounded deed. In using the injunction against the coal strikers he exhibited his courage and, flying in the face of the old-style office-seeker's tenderness in antagonizing the labor vote, placed whatever aspirations he may have for the Presidency in the balance. He has, in fact, offended permanently a large element of the labor class, and, according to a Democratic

politician of prominence at Washington, this will weigh distinctly against Mr. Palmer when the assets and liabilities of the various Democratic candidates for the nomination are finally summed up. The politician put it this way:

"We can't get along without the labor vote. We do not have to make concessions; all we have to do is show a friendly attitude. The Republicans, confident of winning without the labor vote, are pushing this whole element toward us, and we cannot afford to nominate any one for whom labor holds outright antagonism. We must remember that a great many of those who are shouting for Palmer are Republicans, and when it comes to voting will vote the Republican ticket. Geographically Palmer is also in a weak position. Pennsylvania is hopelessly Republican."

Like Wilson, Palmer is a man of ideals, and this is said to have been from the first an attraction between them. He indorses the President's course on the Peace Treaty, and no doubt would meet the Wilson standard that the nominee of the Democratic Party be a staunch supporter of the League of Nations. When Palmer's name first began to be mentioned as the possible nominee, it was said that Bryan might rally to him, as they had been co-workers in the fight to make Pennsylvania "dry," but now, it is considered, that prospect has wholly faded.

That William G. McAdoo is to be a candidate will not down. The only condition that will stay action by his supporters, in the opinion of well-placed observers at Washington, would be for the President himself to run, and, in the opinion of some, lingering uncertainty on this score delayed the announcement of the ex-Secretary of the Treasury. The manager of his campaign, an official at Washington known for his exceptional ability in this work, was ready to resign, it is said, when the plans were submerged for the present. By others the explanation given is that Mr. McAdoo is waiting to see if there is a genuine demand for him, and if there is not he will not permit his candidacy for the nomination to be announced.

Many Democrats of influence believe that when all the pros and cons are looked over, McAdoo will be found to possess the strongest qualifications of any person available. Certainly he measures up to the standard of a national figure. Though the son-in-law of the President, his individuality and his strength stand out clearly. Next to the President, until after the armistice and up to his resignation in December, 1918, he carried the largest burden of the war, in his double capacity of Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of the Railroads. As Secretary of the Treasury his achievement is considered by his admirers one of the greatest in the history of that office. As Director General of the Railroads he made them meet the supreme necessity of the hour in promptly transporting troops and supplies for the war. In some other respects there is



Harris & Swing
William J. Bryan.

not unstinted praise, but his contention is that the future will prove the soundness of his policies and fully justify his final recommendation that the control by the Government be extended for a determination by peacetime test of what was the best policy with regard to the railroads. On this subject he said:

"The right attitude is an open mind, a willingness to abide by what the test shows, whether that be a form of Government regulation or Federal ownership."

He wanted to avoid Federal ownership, but if the problems were not worked out on the basis of a study of conditions, the result was likely to be ultimate Government ownership through blundering handling of the situation.

Remarkable resourcefulness in meeting difficulties of nation-wide scope is a McAdoo characteristic. A lawyer, with the spectacular achievement of having turned a notorious failure into complete success in the building of the McAdoo tubes under the Hudson River, bankers were sharp in their criticism of his appointment of Secretary of the Treasury. But from the beginning, instead of looking on the perennial difficulties as necessary, he began to remove them; one of the first was to provide money for moving the crops. Then came the Federal Reserve act, which he had a share in shaping, and it did away with the bankers' worst trouble, the fear of panics.

The need of a merchant marine impressed McAdoo, and he was a leader in the movement that resulted in the great fleet of today. At the signing of the armistice, he was one of the first to speak out for a return, as soon as possible, to the free play of competition which had marked the upbuilding of the United States. He has strong ideas for the improving of the conditions of the average man and is for "social justice," though he has not defined it. Of the Democrats proposed for the Presidency who are con-

sidered firmly poised against radicalism, he is thought to be the most acceptable to the labor element. The Railroad brotherhoods have been spoken of in the past as strongly for him. With the conservative wing of the Democratic Party, McAdoo's liberalism is not considered an advantage. He was born in 1863 and was admitted to the bar at Knoxville, Tenn., in 1874.

On the League of Nations, McAdoo would, of course, meet the President's test.

When the question of the politics of Herbert Hoover is mentioned among Democratic leaders in Washington who think that the day may come when they will turn to Hoover as the candidate the answer is:

"Hoover supported the President in his appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress in 1917, and he has stood solidly behind the President on the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. He believes firmly in the necessity of the League and is thus more closely allied with the President than many a Democrat of long standing."

Unique among all persons ever mentioned for the Presidency is Herbert Hoover. His larger education has been from the world itself, and he looms at a time when the problems of every nation stretch far out into the world. It is said that since his maturity he has only voted once, on account of his absence in other lands. He was born in West Branch, Iowa, in 1874, and was graduated from Stanford University in 1895, as a mining engineer. That calling took him over the world, after a brief service in this country with the United States Geological Survey, first to Australia, next to China. He took part in the defense of Tientsin during the Boxer troubles of 1900. Two years later found him with offices in London as the partner in large mining operations. With success he became the director in other mining companies with central offices in London, conducting operations in various parts of the world.

Up to that time no one suspected that underneath the exterior of a remarkably able mining engineer and manager were the broad social sympathies which on a sudden call could make him leave his business behind and turn completely to the cause of succoring a nation. Hoover became Chairman of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium. The rest is a story known to the world and one of the inspiring stories of the war—how Hoover organized relief for Belgium, his assumption of the vast task of Federal Food Administrator of the United States, and after the armistice Food Administrator of the Allies. Success marked every step to greater and greater responsibilities. With his submergence of self in what he deemed a supreme service of the war, he drew men and means to him and built a great machine that functioned to the purpose. Instinctively he maintained that the greater response in food saving

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James W. Gerard, Ex-Ambassador to Germany.



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John W. Davis, Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.



Atlee Pomerene, Senator from Ohio.

Democratic Candidates

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would be obtained from the American people by voluntary appeal, and he stood firm against all proposals to introduce in this country the European rationing system. The end richly justified his faith. Families, counties, whole districts learned to enjoy carrying out their pledge to do without wheat altogether.

Relieved from immediate attention to the food situation, other social problems have absorbed the attention of Hoover; the mining engineer remains in the background. He lately served as a member of the President's Industrial Commission. To a social problem he applies the hard practicality that is required in the operation of a great chain of mines, never lost in theory, his admirers say, always measuring accomplishments by results. He sees one way out of the overshadowing problem in this country, that the only way to maintain and improve the standard of living is by increased production; and to attain this the impulses which create efficiency in both the employe and the employer must equally be considered, a true co-ordination of effort.

Can Hoover, the business man, with a social sympathy that has extended over so large a part of the world in relieving distress, work this out? His admirers believe he can; they believe that his social interest and his business ability represent a rare combination to serve this country in devising a method of co-operation which will avert a destructive clash between reactionary and radical. Hoover, his admirers say, is the best-posted man in the United States on real world conditions; he knows the needs and the opportunities; his ideals in international relations rest on solid, practical footing, and all this, it is pointed out, greatly strengthen his qualifications to serve the country at an epochal time in its history.

"Hoover," said a Democratic admirer at Washington, after remarking that some of those in the inner councils of the party had been considering his name as an ultimate resort, "has the inspirational appeal. His name means something to every man, woman, and child in the United States. Wilson gave us the ideals; Hoover, with his practical engineer's mind, guided by a sympathy and understanding of these ideals, will put them into effect."

In a second group of possibilities for the Democratic nomination, more spoken of than some of the others, may be mentioned: Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, who deplores the treaty delay; Senator Atlee Pomerene of the same State, who is in favor of compromises in order to obtain ratification without further delay; Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Democratic leader in the treaty fight, who indorses the letter sent by the President to the Jackson Day dinner; Vice President Thomas R. Marshall, who has stated that he is not a candidate; James W. Gerard of New York, ex-Ambassador to Germany, who is for compromises to procure ratification of the treaty; John W. Davis of West Virginia, Ambassador to Great Britain, who is highly thought of for his constructive ideas.

Gerard, the only candidate who has qualified for the North Dakota primary and is therefore in line to receive this vote, is one of the leading Democrats who looks favorably on Hoover as a possibility. In a Jackson Day letter to a Portland (Ore.) banquet, he said: "There are plenty of good men from whom the party can make its choice, and Herbert Hoover is one of them."

In the second group of possibilities, Governor Cox is probably the next spoken of at this time. His supporters say the arguments will have a stronger and stronger appeal, that he has been three times elected Governor of the pivotal State of Ohio, has a constructive record in legislation and administration, and is a self made, successful business man. He began life as a reporter, and among

other interests is the publisher of two Ohio newspapers.

Another advantage claimed for Cox is that he would not be an administration candidate, as would McAdoo or Palmer. Cox is under fifty and a man of great energy. Among the achievements of his administration are: A Workmen's Compensation act; a Child Labor law; a Mother's Pension system; a Budget system; a Blue Sky law. He has prosecuted profiteers, and removed the Mayor of Canton for not enforcing the law during the steel strike. He is not a prohibitionist, but has not taken part in opposition to the "drys," is strong for woman's suffrage, and, though a churchman, enjoys life all the way from golf to poker.

In the records of other facts which stand out are:

Pomerene is a Senator known for courage on public questions and a thorough study of legislative problems confronting the Senate. He has supported much labor legislation, but voted against the exclusion of labor and farmers from the Clayton Anti-Trust act; denounced the Plumb Plan and voted for the anti-strike provision in the Cummins bill. Among the prominent measures his name is connected with are: Income Tax law, Parcel Posts law, Federal Reserve act, Tariff Commission act, and Child Labor bill. He is the son of an Ohio physician and was born in that State in 1863.

Gerard's distinguished achievement from a national standpoint is his conduct as Ambassador to Germany in the years preceding our entry into the war. His firmness in dealing with the Kaiser, his promptness in serving American interests and American citizens made a record which won wide approval here. He was born at Geneseo, N. Y., in 1867, is a lawyer and jurist, and served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New York in 1908. His candidacy is regarded as making it certain that McAdoo will lack the initial strength of a solid New York delegation. Some think Gerard's strength will be thrown to another.

Davis is looked upon by some as a man who might be brought forward in the event of a deadlock. He is held in high regard for his ability as a lawyer, his breadth and steadiness. He was born at Clarksburg, W. Va., in 1873, served in Congress as Representative 1911-15, resigned to become Solicitor General of the United States, and as Ambassador at London has made a strong impression on the English public.

Bryan, three times the Democratic candidate, ran in 1896 on a free silver plank, and in 1900 on an anti-imperialism issue. In 1908 he ran his poorest race. The fact that the American people have rejected him three times is regarded by leaders as an insuperable obstacle to his choice. Since he resigned as Secretary of State in 1915, because he disagreed with the phraseology of a note to Germany, he has devoted most of his time to national prohibition.

But it must be remembered that the curtain has not yet risen on the Democratic candidates, though the time is now past for it to have done so. It is held down by the fact that President Wilson has not yet made his expected announcement that he will not be a candidate for a third term. Until he does make this announcement there will always remain the possibility that events may force him into the race. The time for action in important primaries draws near. Suppose Bryan, or a Bryan representative, should enter his name. The President would be virtually forced to declare himself or else announce that he would not run in order that those who stand with him enter the lists in opposition to Bryan or a Bryan representative. The last day for the filing of declarations for the Ohio primary is Feb. 27; for Michigan the date is March 1; for Indiana and Illinois, March 3. Two primaries takes place in March, North and South Dakota; seven in April, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin and Massachusetts.